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WASHINGTON'S FIRST CAMPAIGN,
DEATH OF JUMONVILLE,
AND THE
TAKING OF FORT NECESSITY;
ALSO,
BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT;

THE MARCH OF THE UNFORTUNATE GENERAL EXPLAINED BY A
DISTINGUISHED HISTORIAN, TRACED ON THE GROUND BY
A CIVIL ENGINEER, AND EXHIBITED ON A NEAT
AND ACCURATE MAP, PREPARED
UNDER HIS DIRECTION.

THE WHOLE ARRANGED BY
NEVILLE B. CRAIG.

PITTSBURGH:
PRINTED BY WRIGHT & CHARLTON, S. E. CORNER OF THE DIAMOND.
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WASHINGTON'S FIRST CAMPAIGN, AND BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

There is in the whole history of the valley of the Mississippi, no event which stands out so prominently, or which possesses a deeper interest to Americans than the rout of the British and American colonial troops on the banks of the Monongehala river, on the 9th of July, 1755. It is interesting in the first place on account of its influence on the colonies at the time. Chief Justice Marshal in his Life of Washington says, "The whole frontier of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia was left exposed to the incursions of the savages, the back settlements were generally broken up and the inhabitants driven into the interior country. So excessive was the alarm, that even the lower parts of those colonies entertained apprehensions for their safety, and persons were not wanting, who supposed that the seaboard itself was insecure."

It is interesting, because on that fatal day Washington and many other Americans* took their first lessons in that art, which twenty years after they were called on to exert in defence of the liberty of the country. It is interesting, also, because it was the first battle near the Ohio, in that war which arose out of the conflicting claims of France and Great Britain to this beautiful valley, and because it resulted in the triumph of the former and in the temporary expulsion of every British subject from this region.

More attention has recently been attracted to it, because the recent improvement of the Monongahela river by locks and dams, has made it the great thoroughfare between the East and the West, and thus caused

* Among others Gen. Gates, Gen. Morgan, Col. Crawford, Col. Jno. Neville, &c.

many thousand passengers monthly to pass within view of that field which was so abundantly watered with the blood of the most gallant of Britain's sons. This circumstance has excited curiosity and caused much inquiry as to the events of that day and those which preceded it. It has, in consequence, more than once been suggested to the writer of these remarks, that a pamphlet on the subject of the transactions in this and adjoining counties in the years 1754 and 1755 would be acceptable to very many of those travelers who daily and hourly pass by Braddock's Field.

In compliance with this suggestion the following compilation is made, consisting mainly of extracts from contemporaneous publications and authentic histories, with a few explanatory remarks interposed where necessary to the continuousness of the narrative.

CAPTURE OF "THE FORKS" IN 1754.

In the summer of 1753, French troops sent from Canada were in possession of Presque Isle, where Erie now stands, of Le Bœuf near Waterford, and of Fort Venango now Franklin. The Governor of Virginia, being alarmed by these movements, in November, 1754 dispatched George Washington on a mission to the French commandant at *Le Bœuf*. The information communicated by Washington on his return only increased the fears of Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, and he determined immediately to send a small force to occupy and fortify this place.

In April, Captain Trent's company was at this place, under Ensign Ward, erecting a fort, Captain Trent himself was still at Cumberland, and Lieut. Fraser at his residence on Turtle Creek. On the 16th of April, 1754, Monsieur Contrecoeur descended the Allegheny with a considerable force of French and Indians, and summoned Ward to surrender his unfinished work.

Ward afterwards reported the number of French to be one thousand, with eighteen pieces of cannon, in about sixty batteaux, and three hundred canoes. This number has been said to be an exaggeration, but when it is recollected that during Washington's stay at fort Le Bœuf he had the canoes counted, and found that there were at that place on the 13th of December, "fifty birch bark, and one hundred and seventy pine canoes; besides many others which were blocked out, ready to be made," we may readily believe that the number, in April, might reach three hundred. The batteaux could be built there and at fort Venango, or they might be drawn on sledges from Presque Isle. Altogether, we think, the statement of Ward may not have been very wide of the truth.

Resistance, by about forty men, even with the aid of an unfinished stockade, to several hundred French with several pieces of cannon, was, of course, out of the question. Ward had no brother officer to consult

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with; but Tanacharison, the Half-King of the Six Nations of Indians, a zealous friend of the English, was present and advised him to inform the French that he was not an officer of rank, nor was he invested with authority to answer their demands, and to request them to await the arrival of the chief commander. He went accordingly with his reply to the French camp, Tanacharison accompanying him; Contrecoeur, however, refused to wait, and demanded an immediate surrender, declaring that he would, otherwise, take possession by force. An immediate capitulation, of course, followed. On the subsequent day, Ensign Ward, with his men, ascended the Monongahela to the mouth of Red Stone creek. A full narrative of the whole affair was given under oath by Ensign Ward to Governor Dinwiddie, who transmitted it to the British Government. Mr. Sparks, in his edition of the Writings of Washington, states that the original was in the Plantation office in England, where he examined it and prepared his account of the matter, which we follow. In his narrative, Ward states that Contrecoeur invited him to supper the evening of the capitulation and treated him very politely. Poor Ward, probably, had but little appetite, and had his host foreseen all the consequence of the doings of that day, his happiness would, no doubt, have been much clouded.

This affair has always been considered as the commencement of that memorable war which was terminated by the treaty of Paris; by which France renounced all claim to Nova Scotia, and ceded to Great Britain Canada and all the territory east of the Mississippi, except the Isle of Orleans; and Spain ceded to the same power all Florida. Monsieur Contrecoeur proceeded, immediately, to complete the work begun by Ward, and called it Fort *Duquesne*, after the then Governor of Canada.

Washington reached Will's creek with three companies on the 20th of April, and two days after, Ensign Ward arrived with the intelligence of his capture. Washington immediately sent expresses to the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, asking for reinforcements, and then after a consultation with his brother officers, resolved to advance, and, if possible, to reach the Monongahela, near where Brownsville now stands, and there erect a fortification. On the 9th of May he was at the Little Meadows, and there received information that Contrecoeur had been reinforced with eight hundred men. On the 18th he was encamped on the Youghiogheny, near where Smithfield, in Fayette county, now stands. From that point he with Lieutenant West, three soldiers and an Indian, descended the river about thirty miles, hoping to find it navigable so that he could transport his cannoa in canoes, but was disappointed. He had scarcely returned to his troops, when a messenger from his old friend Tanacharison arrived, with information that the French were marching towards him, with a determination to attack him. The same day he received further information, that the enemy were at the crossings of the

Youghiogheny, near where Connelsville now stands, about eighteen miles from his own encampment. He then hurried to the Great Meadows, where he made an intrenchment, and by clearing away the bushes prepared a fine field for an encounter. Next day M. Gist, his old pilot who resided near the Crossings, arrived with the news that a French detachment of fifty men had been at his place the day before.

That same night, (May 28th,) about nine o'clock, an express arrived from Tanacharison, who was then encamped with some of his warriors about six miles off, with information that the French were near his encampment. Col. Washington, says Sparks, immediately started with forty men to join the Half-King. The night was dark, the rain fell in torrents, the woods were intricate, the soldiers often lost their way groping in the bushes and clambering over rocks and logs, but at length they arrived at the Indian camp just before sunrise, (May 28th.) A Council with Tanacharison was immediately held, and joint operations against the French were determined on. Two Indian spies discovered the enemy's position in an obscure place, surrounded by rocks, and a half mile from the road. Washington was to advance on the right, Tanacharison on the left. Thus they approached in single file, until they were discovered by the French who immediately seized their arms and prepared for action. The action commenced by a brisk firing on both sides, which was kept up for a quarter of an hour, when the French ceased to resist. Monsieur Jumonville, the commandant, and ten of his men were killed, and twenty-two were taken prisoners, one of whom was wounded. A Canadian escaped during the action. Washington had one man killed and two wounded. No harm happened the Indians. The prisoners were sent to Governor Dinwiddie.

The Canadian who escaped at the time of Jumonville's death would, of course, carry the news of that affair to Fort Duquesne, and Washington, anticipating that a larger force would be sent against him, set his troops to work to enlarge and strengthen the work he had prepared at the Great Meadows, and called it Fort Necessity.

The Indians began to flock in around him, Tanacharison and his followers, Queen Aliquippa and her sons, and others to the number of forty or fifty families. Captain Mackay, with an independent company of one hundred men from South Carolina, also joined him. That officer had a royal commission, which he thought placed him over Washington. He however, was a prudent man, and no disagreement occurred. On the 10th of June, nine deserters from the French arrived at Washington's camp, and confirmed intelligence previously received by a messenger sent from Logstown to Tanacharison, that the Shawnese and Delawares had agreed to take up the hatchet against the English. These deserters also stated that the Fort at the Forks was completed. They stated that there were not

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above five hundred men in the Fort when they left, but supposed that two hundred had since arrived. These same deserters also stated as Washington said in his letter, that Jumonville's party were sent out as spies.

On the 11th of June, Washington, leaving Captain Mackay at Fort Necessity, marched with his troops, intended to advance to Redstone. After two weeks of toil he reached Gist's farm, only thirteen miles from Fort Necessity. Here information was received that reinforcements had arrived at Fort Duquesne from Canada, and that a large detachment would soon be sent against the English.



CAPTURE OF FORT NECESSITY.

"Preparations for a retreat commenced immediately. The horses were few, and Colonel Washington set a noble example to the officers, by lading his own horse with ammunition and other public stores, leaving his baggage behind, and giving the soldiers four pistoles to carry it forward. The other officers followed his example. There were nine swivels, which were drawn by the soldiers of the Virginia regiment over a very broken road, unassisted by the men belonging to the Independent Company, who refused to perform any service of this kind. Nor would they act as pioneers, nor aid in transporting the public stores, considering this a duty not incumbent upon them as King's soldiers. This conduct had a discouraging effect upon the soldiers of the Virginia regiment, by dampening their ardor, and making them more dissatisfied with their extreme fatigue; but the whole party reached the Great Meadows on the 1st of July.

"It was not the intention of Col. Washington, at first, to halt at this place, but his men had become so much fatigued from great labor, and a deficiency of provisions, that they could draw the swivels no further, nor carry baggage on their backs. They had been eight days without bread, and at the Great Meadows they found only a few bags of flour. It was thought advisable to wait here, therefore, and fortify themselves in the best manner they could, till they should receive supplies and reinforcements. They had heard of the arrival at Alexandria of two Independent Companies from New York, twenty days before, and it was presumed they must by this time have reached Will's Creek. An express was sent to hasten them on with as much dispatch as possible.

"Meantime Col. Washington set his men to felling trees, and carrying logs to the fort, with a view to raise a breastwork, and enlarge and strengthen the fortification in the best manner that circumstances would permit. The space of ground called the Great Meadows, is a level bot-

tion, through which passes a small creek, and is surrounded by hills of a moderate and gradual ascent. This bottom or glade, is entirely level, covered with long grass and small bushes, and varies in width. At the point where the fort stood it is about two hundred and fifty yards wide, from the base of one hill to that of the opposite. The position of the fort was well chosen, being about one hundred yards from the upland or wooded ground on one side, and one hundred and fifty on the other, and so situated on the margin of the creek as to afford an easy access to water. At one point the high ground comes within sixty yards of the fort, and this was the nearest distance to which an enemy could approach under the shelter of trees. The outlines of the fort were still visible, when the spot was visited by the writer in 1830, occupying an irregular square, the dimensions of which were about one hundred feet on each side. One of the angles was prolonged further than the others for the purpose of reaching the water in the creek. On the west side, next to the nearest wood, were three entrances, protected by short breastworks or bastions. The remains of a ditch, stretching round the south and west sides, were also distinctly seen. The site of this fort, named Fort Necessity from the circumstances attending its erection and original use, is three or four hundred yards south of what is now called the National Road, four miles from the foot of Laurel Hill, and fifty miles from Cumberland at Will's Creek.

On the 3d of July, early in the morning, an alarm was received from a sentinel who had been wounded by the enemy; and at nine o'clock intelligence came that the whole body of the enemy, amounting, as was reported, to nine hundred men, was only four miles off. At eleven o'clock they approached the fort and began to fire at the distance of six hundred yards but without effect. Col. Washington had drawn up his men, on the open and level ground outside of the trenches, waiting for the attack, which he presumed would be made as soon as the enemy's forces emerged from the woods; and ordered his men to reserve their fire till they should be near enough to do execution. The distant firing was supposed to be a stratagem to draw Washington's men into the woods, and thus to take them at a disadvantage. He suspected the design, and maintained his post till he found the French did not incline to leave the woods and attack the fort by an assault, as he supposed they would considering their superiority of numbers. He then drew his men back within the trenches and gave them orders to fire according to their discretion, as suitable opportunities might present themselves. The French and Indians remained on the side of the rising ground, which was nearest to the fort, and, sheltered by the trees, kept up a brisk fire of musketry, but never appeared in the open plain below. The rain fell heavily through the day the trenches were filled with water and many of the arms of Col. Washington's men were out of order, and used with difficulty.

"In this way the battle continued from eleven o'clock in the morning till eight at night when the French called and requested a parley. Suspecting this to be a feint to procure the admission of an officer into the fort, that he might discover their condition, Col. Washington at first declined listening to the proposal, but when the call was repeated with the additional request that an officer might be sent to them, engaging at the same time their parole for his safety, he sent out Capt. Vanbraam, the only person under his command that could speak French, except the Chevalier de Peyrouny, an ensign in the Virginia regiment, who was dangerously wounded and disabled from rendering any service on this occasion. Vanbraam returned, and brought with him from M. de Villiers, the French commander, proposed articles of capitulation. These he read and pretended to interpret, and some changes having been made by mutual agreement, both parties signed them about midnight.

"By the terms of the capitulation, the whole garrison was to retire, and return without molestation to the inhabited parts of the country, and the French commander promised, that no embarrassment should be interposed, either by his own men or the savages. The English were to take away every thing in their possession, except their artillery, and to march out of the fort the next morning with the honors of war, their drums beating and colors flying. As the French had killed all the horses and cattle, Colonel Washington had no means of transporting his heavy baggage and stores; and it was conceded to him that his men might conceal their effects, and that a guard might be left to protect them till horses could be sent up to take them away. Colonel Washington agreed to restore the prisoners who had been taken at the skirmish with Jumonville; and as a surety for this article two hostages, Captains Vanbraam and Stobo, were delivered up to the French, and were retained till the prisoners should return. It was moreover agreed that the party capitulating should not attempt to build any more establishments at that place, or beyond the mountains, for the space of a year.

"Early the next morning Colonel Washington began to march from the fort in good order, but he had proceeded only a short distance when a body of one hundred Indians, being a reinforcement to the French came upon him, and could hardly be restrained from attacking his men. They pilfered the baggage and did other mischief. He marched forward, however, with as much speed as possible, in the weakened and encumbered condition of his army, there being no other mode of conveying the wounded men and baggage than on the soldiers' backs. As the provisions were nearly exhausted, no time was to be lost; and leaving much of the baggage behind, he hastened to Will's Creek, where all the necessary supplies were in store. Thence Col. Washington and Capt Mackay proceeded to Williamsburg, and communicated in person to the Governor the events of the campaign."

From this time nothing of importance happened in this quarter until Braddock's Expedition in the ensuing year. Of his march we find the fullest and most satisfactory accounts ever published, in the *Olden Time*, a historical magazine issued monthly in Pittsburgh.

"BRADDOCK'S MARCH."

The first item is a letter from Jared Sparks, a gentleman who was selected to arrange the letters and official papers of Washington, and who has devoted much time and labor, not only in this country, but in France and England to the elucidation of our early history. His letter is as follows:

SALEM, MASS., FEB. 18 1847.

DEAR SIR:—There is a copy of the "Memorial," which I believe you mentioned, in the Library of Harvard College, which I believe is complete. I shall obtain it soon, and will have the missing pages copied, and forward to you the manuscript. I suppose you wish it to be sent by mail. I once compared this translation with the original, and found it clumsily executed, but the substance is probably retained.

Having heretofore examined with care the details of Braddock's expedition, I am persuaded that the following, as far as it goes is a correct account of his march from Gist's plantation.

On the 30th of June the army forded the Youghiogheny at Stewart's Crossings, and then passed a rough road over a mountain. A few miles onward they came to a great swamp, which detained them part of a day in clearing a road. They next advanced to Salt Lick Creek, now called Jacob's Creek, where a council of war was held, on the 3d of July, to consider a suggestion of Sir John St. Clair, that Col. Dunbar's detachment should be ordered to join the main body. This proposal was rejected, on the ground that Dunbar could not join them in less than thirteen days; that this would cause such a consumption of provisions as to render it necessary to bring forward another convoy from Fort Cumberland; and that in the mean time the French might be strengthened by a reinforcement which was daily expected at Fort Duquesne—and moreover; the two divisions could not move together after their junction.

On the 4th the army again marched, and advanced to Turtle Creek, about twelve miles from its mouth, where they arrived on the 7th inst. I suppose this to have been the eastern branch, or what is now called Brush Creek, and that the place at which they encamped was a short distance northerly from the present village of Stewartsville. It was Gen. Braddock's intention to cross Turtle Creek, and approach Fort Duquesne on the other side; but the banks were so precipitous, and presented such obstacles to crossing with his artillery and heavy baggage, that he hesitated, and Sir John St. Clair went out with a party to reconnoitre. On his return before night, he reported that he had found the ridge which led to

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Fort Duquesne, but that considerable work would be necessary to prepare a road for crossing Turtle Creek. This route was finally abandoned and on the 8th the army marched eight miles and encamped not far from the Monongahela, west of the Youghiogeny, and near what is called in an old map, "Sugar Run." When Braddock reached this place, it was his design to pass through the narrows, but he was informed by the guides, who had been sent out to explore, that the passage was very difficult, about two miles in length, with a river on the left and a high mountain on the right, and that much work must be done to make it passable for carriages. At the same time he was told that there were two good fords across the Monongahela, where the water was shallow and the banks not steep. With these views of the case, he determined to cross the fords the next morning. The order of march was given out, and all the arrangements were made for an early movement.

About eight o'clock, on the morning of the 9th, the advanced division under Col. Gage crossed the ford and pushed forward. After the whole army had crossed and marched about a mile, Braddock received a note from Col. Gage, giving notice that he had passed the second ford without difficulty. A little before two o'clock the whole army had crossed this ford, and was arranged in the order of march on the plain near Frazier's house. Gage with the advanced party was then ordered to march, and while main body was yet standing on the plain, the action began near the river. Not a single man of the enemy had before been seen.

The distance, by the line of march, from Stewart's Crossing to Turtle Creek, or Brush Creek was about thirty miles. At this point the route was changed almost to a right angle in marching to the Monongahela. The encampment was probably two or three miles from the bank of the river, for Colonel Gage marched at the break of day, and did not cross the ford till eight o'clock. During the whole march from the Great Meadows, the pickets and sentinels were frequently assailed by scouting parties of French and Indians, and several men were killed. Mr. Gist acted as the General's guide.

On the 4th of July two Indians went out to reconnoitre the country towards Fort Duquesne; and Mr. Gist also on the same day, in a different direction. They were gone two days, and all came in sight of the fort, but brought back no important intelligence. The Indians contrived to kill and scalp a French officer, whom they found shooting within half a mile of the fort.

The army seldom marched more than six miles a day, and commonly not so much. From Stewart's Crossing to Turtle Creek, there were six encampments. During one day the army halted.

I shall be much pleased to see Mr. Atkinson's map. His knowledge of the ground will enable him to delineate Braddock's route much more accurately than it can be done from any sources now attainable.

I am, Sir, respectfully yours,
NEVILLE B. CRAIG, Esq., Pittsburgh.

JARED SPARKS.

The next article is from the pen of Mr. Thos. C. Atkinson, a gentleman lately employed as Chief Engineer of the Pittsburgh and Connelssville Rail Road Company along the Youighioghenny river. His home is at Cumberland, and his duties on the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road, had previously afforded him opportunities of indulging an enthusiastic taste for our early history, in tracing the march of Braddock in Maryland and Virginia. His recent employment along the Youighioghenny enabled him to complete his task in pursuing the rout of Braddock to its fatal termination on the Monongahela river. His article is a valuable and interesting addition to our early history, and is the more reliable because all his conclusions had been arrived at from observations on the ground, before he had seen Mr. Sparks' letter, which fully sustains them :

BRADDOCK'S ROUTE TO THE BATTLE OF THE MONONGAHELA.

The interest with which the routes of celebrated expeditions are regarded, and the confusion which attends them after the lapse of years, is well exemplified in the case of Hannibal, whose march towards Rome, in order to divert their army from the siege of Capua, was totally lost in the course of a few centuries. The constant blunders of Livy in copying first from one writer, and then from another who made him take a different path, justify a recent English historian who went to Italy to see the ground for himself, in saying that the Punic War was almost as hard in the writing as the fighting.

As the time is coming when the road by which the unfortunate Braddock marched to his disastrous field, will be invested with antiquarian interest, akin to that attending Hannibal's route, or rather the *via scelerata*, by which the Fabian family marched out of Rome. I have thought it time not idly spent to attempt to pursue its scattered traces as far as it is in my power, among more pressing occupations. In this sketch, I do not design to pursue it to its extent, but only to identify it in those parts, where it has been convenient for me to visit it, and in others to shadow out its general direction. Where it is obscure, I hope to have opportunities to examine it at a future day.

Of the well conducted expedition of Col. Bouquet, and its precise path, the publications of Mr. Hutchins, the geographer, who was one of the engineers, leaves us very well informed. It is presumable that similar details would be found of the march of 1755 if it had had a successful termination. The three engineers who were in the field were wounded ; and it is probable their papers fell into the hands of the enemy, or were lost in the flight.

General Braddock landed at Alexandria on the 20th February, 1755. The selection of this port for the debarkation of the troops, was censured at the time, though it is probable it had the approval of Washington.

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The two regiments he brought with him were very defective in numbers, having but about 500 men each, and it was expected their ranks would be recruited in America. It is shown by the repeated requests on this point made by the General at Cumberland, that this expectation was vain. After numerous delays, and a conference with the Royal Governors, we find Gen. Braddock *en route* on the 24th of April, when he had reached Fredericktown, in Maryland. Passing thence through Winchester, Va., he reached Fort Cumberland about the 9th of May. Sir John Sinclair, Deputy Quarter Master General had preceded him to this point about two weeks.*

The army struck the Little Cacapehon, (though pronounced Cacapon, I have used for the occasion the spelling of Washington, and various old documents,) about six miles above its mouth, and following the stream, encamped on the Virginia side of the Potomac, preparatory to crossing into Maryland. The water is supposed to have been high at the time, as the spot is known as the Ferry-fields, from the army having been ferried over. This was about the 4th or 5th of May.

The army thence pursued the banks of the river, with a slight deviation of route at the mouth of the South Branch, to the village of Old Town, known at that time as the Shawnee Old Town, modern use having dropped the most characteristic part of the name. This place, distanced about eight miles from the Ferry-fields, was known at that early day at the residence of Col. Thomas Cresap, an English settler, and the father of the hero of Logan's speech. The road proceeded thence parallel with the river and at the foot of the hills, till it passed the narrows of Will's Mountain, whence it struck out a shorter line coincident with the present county road, and lying between the rail road and the mountain, to Fort Cumberland.

From the Little Cacapehon to this point the ground was comparatively easy, and the road had been generally judiciously chosen. Thenceforward the character of the ground was altered, not so much in the general aspect of the country, as that the march was about to abandon the valleys, and now the real difficulties of the expedition may be said to commence.

The fort had been commenced the previous year, after the surrender

*Many misstatements are prevalent in the country adjacent to the line of march especially east of Cumberland, the traditional name of Braddock's route being often applied to routes we know he did not pursue. It is probable the ground of the application consists in their having been used by the Quarter Master's men in bringing on those Pennsylvania wagons and pack horses procured by Dr. Franklin, with so much trouble and at so great expense of truth. Sir John Sinclair wore a Hussar's cap, and Franklin made use of the circumstance to terrify the German settlers with the belief that he was a Hussar who would administer to them the tyrannical treatment they had experienced in their own country, if they did not comply with his wishes. It is singular that a small brook and an obscure country road in Berkley County, Va., bear the name of Sir John's Run, and Sir John's Road, supposed to be taken from the name of this officer.

at the Great Meadows, by Col. Innes, who had with him the two independent companies of New York and South Carolina. It mounted ten four pounders, besides swivels, and was favorably situated to keep the hostile Indians in check.*

The army now consisted of 1000 regulars, 30 sailors, and 1200 provincials, besides a train of artillery. The provincials were from New York and Virginia; one company from the former colony was commanded by Cap. Gates, afterwards the hero of Saratoga. On the 8th of June, Braddock having, through the interest and exertions of Dr. Franklin, principally, got 150 wagons and 2000 horses from Pennsylvania, was ready to march.

Scaroodaya, successor to the Half-King of the Senecas, and *Monacootooha*, whose acquaintance Washington had made on the Ohio, on his mission to Le Bœuf, with about 150 Indians, Senecas and Delawares, accompanied him. George Croghan, the Indian Agent of Pennsylvania, and a friendly Indian of great value, called *Susquehanna Jack*, were also with him.

The first brigade under Sir Peter Halket, led the way on the 8th, and on the 9th the main body followed. Some idea of the difficulties they encountered, may be had when we perceive they spent the third night only five miles from the first. The place of encampment, which is about one third of a mile from the toll-gate on the National Road, is marked by a copious spring bearing Braddock's name.

For reasons not easy to divine, the route across Will's Mountain first adopted for the National Road was selected, instead of the more favorable one through the narrows of Will's Creek, to which the road has been changed within a few years, for the purpose of avoiding that formidable ascent. The traces are very distinct on the east and west slopes, the modern road crossing it frequently. From the western foot, the route continued up Braddock's Run to the forks of the stream, where Clary's tavern now stands, 9 miles from Cumberland, when it turned to the left, in order to reach a point on the ridge favorable to an easy descent into the valley of George's Creek. It is surprising that having reached this high ground, the favorable spur by which the National Road accomplishes the ascent of the Great Savage Mountain, did not strike the attention of the engineers, as the labor requisite to surmount the barrier from the deep valley of George's Creek, must have contributed greatly to those bitter complaints which Braddock made against the Colonial Governments for their failure to assist him more effectively in the transportation department.

*The original name of Cumberland was Cucucbetuc, and from its favorable position on the Potomac, it was most probably the site of a Shawnee village, like Old-town; moreover, it was marked by an Indian name, a rare occurrence in this vicinity, if any judgment may be drawn from the few that have been preserved.

Passing then a mile to the south of Frostburg, the road approaches the east foot of Savage Mountain, which it crosses about one mile south of the National road, and thence by very favorable ground through the dense forests of white pine peculiar to this region, it got to the north of the National Road, near the gloomy tract called the *Shades of Death*. This was the 15th of June, when the dense gloom of the summer woods, and the favorable shelter which these enormous pines would give an Indian enemy, must have made a most sensible impression on all minds, of the insecurity of their mode of advance.

This doubtless had its share in causing the council of war held at the Little Meadows* the next day. To this place, distant only about twenty miles from Cumberland, Sir John Sinclair and Maj. Chapman had been dispatched on the 27th of May, to build a fort; the army having been 7 days in reaching it, it follows as the line of march was upwards of three miles long, the rear was just getting under way when the advance were lighting their evening fires.

Here it may be well enough to clear up an obscurity which enters into many narratives of these early events, from confusing the names of the *Little Meadows* and *Great Meadows*, *Little Crossings* and *Great Crossings*, which are all distinct localities.

The *Little Meadows* have been described as at the foot of Meadow Mountain; it is well to note that the *Great Meadows* are about 31 miles further west, and near the east foot of Laurel Hill.

By the *Little Crossings* is meant the Ford of Casselman's River, a tributary of the Youghiogheny; and by the *Great Crossings*, the passage of the Youghiogheny itself. The Little Crossing is 2 miles west of the Little Meadows, and the Great Crossing 17 miles further west.

The conclusion of the council was to push on with a picked force of 1200 men; and 12 pieces of cannon, and the line of march, now more compact, was resumed on the 19th. Passing over ground to the south of the Little Crossings, and of the village of Grantsville, which it skirted, the army spent the night of the 21st at the Bear Camp, a locality I have not been able to identify, but suppose it to be about midway to the Great

*This interesting locality lies at the west foot of the Meadow Mountain, which is one of the most important of the Allegheny Ridges, in Pennsylvania especially; where it constitutes the dividing ridge between the eastern and western waters. A rude entrenchment, about half a mile north of the Inn on the National Road kept by Mr. Huddleson, marks the site of this fort. This is most probably the field of a skirmish spoken of in frontier history, between a Mr. Paris, with a scouting party from Fort Cumberland, and the Sieur Donville, commanding some French and Indians, in which the French officer was slain. The tradition is distinctly preserved in the vicinity, with a misapprehension of Washington's participation in it, arising probably from the partial resemblance between the names of Donville and Jumonville. From the positiveness of the information, in regard to the battle ground, conflicting with what we know of Jumonville's death, it seems probable enough that this was the scene of this Indian skirmish; and as such, it possesses a classic interest, valuable in proportion to the scarcity of such places. For a notice of Mon. Donville's death, see vol. I, page 75, Olden Time.

Crossings, which it reached on the 23d. The route thence to the Great Meadows or Fort Necessity, was well chosen, though over a mountainous tract, conforming very nearly to the ground now occupied by the National Road, and keeping on the dividing ridge between the waters flowing into the Youghiogheny on the one hand, and the Cheat River on the other. Having crossed the Youghiogheny, we are now on the classic ground of Washington's early career, where the skirmish with Jumonville, and Fort Necessity, indicate the country laid open for them in the previous year. About one mile west of the Great Meadows, and near the spot now marked as Braddock's Grave, the road struck off more to the north-west, in order to reach a pass through Laurel Hill, that would enable them to strike the Youghiogheny, at a point afterwards known as Stewart's Crossing, and about half a mile below the present town of Connellsville. This part of the route is marked by the farm known as Mount Braddock. This second crossing of the Youghiogheny was effected on the 30th of June. The high grounds intervening between the river and its next tributary, Jacob's Creek, though trivial in comparison with what they had already passed, it may be supposed, presented serious obstacles to the troops, worn out with previous exertions. On the 3d of July a council of war was held at Jacob's Creek, to consider the propriety of bringing forward Col. Dunbar with the reserve, and although urged by Sir John Sinclair with, as one may suppose, his characteristic vehemence, the measure was rejected on sufficient grounds. From the crossing of Jacob's Creek, which was at the point where Welchhanse's Mill now stands, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Mount Pleasant, the route stretched off to the north, crossing the Mount Pleasant turnpike near the village of the same name, and thence by a more westerly course, passing the Great Sewickley near Painter's Salt Works, thence south and west of the Post Office of Madison and Jacksonville, it reached the Brush Fork of Turtle Creek. It must strike those who examine the map, that the route for some distance, in the rear and ahead of Mount Pleasant, is out of the proper direction for Fort Duquesne, and accordingly we find on the 7th of July, Gen. Braddock in doubt as to his proper way of proceeding.—The crossing of Brush Creek which he had now reached, appeared to be attended with so much hazard, that parties were sent to reconnoitre, some of whom advanced so far as to kill a French officer within half a mile of Fort Duquesne.

Their examinations induced a great divergence to the left, and availing himself of the valley of Long Run, which he turned into, as is supposed, at Stewartsville, passing by the place now known as Samson's Mill, the army made one of the best marches of the campaign, and halted for the night at a favorable depression between that stream and Crooked Run, and about two miles from the Monongahela. At this spot, about four miles from the battle ground, which is yet well known as Braddock's

Spring, he was rejoined by Washington on the morning of the 9th of July.

The approach to the river was now down the valley of Crooked Run to its mouth, where the point of fording is still manifest, from a deep notch in the west bank, though rendered somewhat obscure by the improved navigation of the river. The advance, under Col. Gage, crossed about 8 o'clock, and continued by the foot of the hill bordering the broad river bottom to the second fording, which he had effected nearly as soon as the rear had got through the first.

The second and last fording near the mouth of Turtle Creek, was in full view of the enemy's position, and about one mile distant. By 1 o'clock the whole army had gained the right bank, and was drawn up on the bottom land, near Frazier's house, (spoken of by Washington, as his stopping place, on his mission to Le Boëuf,) and about three fourths of a mile distant from the ambuscade.

The advance was now about to march, and while a part of the army was yet standing on the plain, the firing was heard. Not an enemy had yet been seen.

As I have now traced the expedition to the scene of the disaster, I refer those who are interested in the particulars of the battle, to the previous numbers of the *Olden Time*.* A.



Having now conducted Braddock and his army to the field of their destruction, it only remains that we should give full accounts of that affair.

"THE DEFEAT."

We give first a letter from Captain Orme, one of the General's aids :

"DEAR SIR. I am extremely ill in bed with the wound I have received in my thigh, so that I am under the necessity of employing my friend, Capt. Dobson, to write for me. I conclude you have had some account of the action near the banks of the Monongahela, about seven miles from the French fort. As the reports spread are very imperfect, what you have heard must consequently be so too. You should have heard more early

*In reviewing the roads used by the pioneers over the Alleghenies, it is surprising to perceive how correctly the Indians had selected the most favorable passes, and indicates an extensive acquaintance with that rugged region. The Rev. Mr. Jacobs, whose little book in defence of Col. Cresap, against the charge of Mr. Jefferson, is quite a rarity, states as a fact, that an Indian named Nemacolin was employed by the Ohio Company to mark out the best road across the mountains, and that the path shown by him was afterwards widened by the Company, and still further improved by Braddock. Mr. Jacobs having married the widow of Col. Cresap, and having also been his confidential clerk from his boyhood, his statements have an authenticity apart from his respectable character. Nemacolin was a Delaware, and his son lived in the Cresap family many years.

accounts of it, but every officer whose business it was to have informed you was either killed or wounded, and our distressful situation put it out of our power to attend to it so much as we would otherwise have done. The 9th inst. we passed and re-passed the Monongahela by advancing first a party of three hundred men, which was immediately followed by another of two hundred. The General with the column of artillery, baggage, and main body of the army, passed the river the last time about one o'clock. As soon as the whole had got on the fort side of the Monongahela we heard a very heavy and quick fire in our front. We immediately advanced in order to sustain them, but the detachments of two hundred and three hundred men gave way and fell back upon us, which caused such confusion and struck so great panic among our men, that afterwards no military expedient could be made use of that had any effect upon them. The men were so extremely deaf to the exhortation of the General and the officers, that they fired away in the most irregular manner all their ammunition, and then ran off, leaving to the enemy the artillery, ammunition, provisions and baggage; nor could they be persuaded to stop till they got as far as Gist's plantation, nor there, only in part; many of them proceeded as far as Col. Dunbar's party, who lay six miles on this side. The officers were absolutely sacrificed by their unparalleled good behaviour, advancing sometimes in bodies and sometimes separately; hoping by such example to engage the soldiers to follow them, but to no purpose. The General had five horses killed under him, and at last received a wound through the right arm, into the lungs, of which he died on the 13th inst. Poor Shirley was shot through the head; Captain Morris wounded. Mr. Washington had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution. Sir Peter Halket was killed upon the spot; Col. Burton and Sir John St. Clair wounded, and enclosed I have sent you a list of killed and wounded, according to as exact an account as we are yet able to get. Upon our proceeding with the whole convoy to the Little Meadows it was found impracticable to advance in that manner. The General, therefore, advanced with twelve hundred men, with the necessary artillery, ammunition and provisions, leaving the main body of the convoy under the command of Col. Dunbar, with orders to join him as soon as possible. In this manner we proceeded with safety and expedition, till the fatal day I have just related; and happy it was that this disposition was made, other wise the whole must either have starved or fallen into the hands of the enemy, as numbers would have been of no service to us, and our provisions were all lost. As our horses were so much reduced, and those extremely weak, and many carriages being wanted for the wounded men, occasioned our destroying the ammunition and superfluous part of the provisions left in Colonel Dunbar's convoy, to prevent its falling into

the hands of the enemy; as the whole of the artillery is lost, and the troops are so extremely weakened by deaths, wounds and sickness it was judged impossible to make any further attempts; therefore, Col. Dunbar is returning to Fort Cumberland with every thing he is able bring up with him; I propose remaining here till my wound will suffer me to remove to Philadelphia from thence I shall proceed to England; whatever commands you may have for me you will do me the honor to direct to me here. By the particular disposition of the French and Indians it was impossible to judge the number they had that day in the field. Killed—General Braddock, Wm. Shirley, Sec'y, Col. Halkett. Wounded, Roger Morris and Robert Orme, Aid-de-Camps; Sir John St. Clair, Deputy Quarter Master General; Matthew Leslie, Assistant; Lieut. Col. Gage; between six and seven hundred officers and soldiers killed and wounded."

The next article which we shall give in relation to that action, is the notice of it in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, published in London, August 1755, a few weeks after the defeat took place. This is a contemporaneous account; it exhibits the feeling then existing, and gives the fullest list of the killed and wounded officers which we have seen. It will be seen, too, that even at that day there were rumors that officers killed some of the flying soldiers, and were in return shot down by them, thus giving some countenance to the story that Gen. Braddock was shot by Fawcett. Our readers will scarcely fail to notice, that although the Virginia troops received full credit for the gallantry they displayed, the name of Washington is not mentioned.

"Of the expeditions set on foot against the French in America, mentioned in our last, the issue of one only was then known, the capture of the fort Beausejour, by Gen. Monkton, who commanded the expedition to Fundy. We have received the following account of General Braddock, who was destined to the Ohio.

"It was said by letters from Virginia, dated June 22d, that on the 12th Gen. Braddock, with 2,000 regular troops, had passed the Allegheny mountains, and was within 5 days' march of Duquesne, a French fort on the Monongahela river, which runs into the Ohio. Sir John St. Clair having advanced nearenough to view it, and consider the adjacent ground, remarked a small eminence that was within cannon shot; and the fort being built of wood, and garrisoned with 1,000 men, it was proposed to erect a battery on this eminence, and set fire to the place, by throwing into it a great number of red hot balls.

"Letters from Philadelphia, dated June 25, gave an account, that the General had been long detained at Will's Creek, and greatly distressed for

want of forage and provisions. Landing the troops at Virginia is said to have been a most unfortunate error, as neither forage, provisions, nor carriages were there to be had, and that if they had landed in Pennsylvania it would have saved £40,000 sterling, and shortened the march six weeks. He was, however, promised 150 wagons, and 300 horses, with a large quantity of forage and provisions, to be furnished from the back settlements of Pennsylvania; but after tedious and anxious expectation of these succors, he received, instead of 150 wagons, only 15; and instead of 300 horses only 100. This disappointment, however great, was much aggravated when the wagons were unloaded, for the provisions were so intolerably, that he must have suffered very greatly from hunger, who could eat it. While he was in this distress he received an unexpected supply of £5000, in provisions and wine from Philadelphia, which was sent by the hands of Mr. Franklin. The General accepted this present with great joy, and urged Mr. Franklin to use his interest to procure further assistance. Mr. Franklin observed that Gen. St. Clair's dress was of the Hussar kind, and this gave him a hint which he immediately improved. He caused a report to be propagated among the Germans, that except 150 wagons could be got ready, and sent to the General within a certain time, St. Clair, who was a Hussar, would come among them and take away what he found by force. The Germans having formerly lived under despotic power, knew the Hussars too well to doubt their serving themselves, and believing that General St. Clair was indeed a Hussar, they provided instead of 150, 200 wagons, and sent them within the time Mr. Franklin had limited.

"The Pennsylvanians also advanced a further sum above the King's bounty, and sent him 190 wagons more, laden each with a ton of corn and oats, four wagons with provisions and wine for the officers, and 60 head of fine cattle for the army.

"The General, as soon as he had received these supplies, pursued his march, having received from time to time various and contradictory accounts of the strength and motions of the enemy. Fort Duquesne was sometimes said to be garrisoned by its full complement, 1000 men; sometimes he was assured by French deserters that the garrison did not consist of more than 200, and that there were but 500 at Venango and Presque Isle, on the banks of the Lake Erie, distant from Duquesne about 90 miles. He received also frequent intelligence of French parties in motion, particularly of a considerable number that were seen in batteaux, on the Lake Ontario, as we supposed on their way to the Ohio, and of 600 that had passed the lake in 120 canoes and batteaux, and were going to Niagara. It was expected that the next advices would give an account of the siege, if not of the capture of Fort Duquesne, as, every one had been taught to believe, that our force in that part of the world was so much superior to the French, that to march and take possession was

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the same thing; but in the midst of this impatience and confidence we were alarmed with the report that General Braddock had been defeated, and soon after, the following article appeared in the Gazette:

“ WHITEHALL, August 26, 1755.

“By his Majesty's ship the Sea-Horse, from Virginia, advice has been received, that Major General Braddock, having advanced with 2,000 men, and all the stores and provisions to the Little Meadows, (about twenty miles beyond Fort Cumberland at Will's Creek) found it necessary to leave the greatest part of the wagons, &c., at that place, under the command of Col. Dunbar, with a detachment of 800 men, ordering him to follow as fast as the nature of the service would admit. The General having by this means lessened his line of march, proceeded with great expedition, his corps then consisted of about 1200 men, and 12 pieces of artillery together with the necessary ammunition, stores and provisions. On the 8th of July, he encamped with ten miles of Fort Duquesne; and on the 9th, on his march through the woods towards that Fort, was attacked by a body of French and Indians, who made a sudden fire from the woods, which put the troops into great confusion, and occasioned their retiring with great precipitation, notwithstanding all the endeavors of the General and the officers, many of whom were killed whilst they were using all possible means to rally the men. The General who exerted himself as much as any man could do, after having five horses killed under him, was shot through the arm and the lungs, of which he died the fourth day. Sir Peter Halket was killed on the spot. Two of the General's aids-de-camp, (Captain Orme and Captain Morris,) were wounded. His Secretary, (son to Governor Shirley,) was killed. Sir John St. Clair, Quarter Master General and his assistant, Mr. Leslie, both wounded. It is reckoned there were about 200 killed, and 400 wounded, the latter are mostly collected at Will's Creek to which place Colonel Dunbar, with the remainder of the troops, was retired, from whom a more particular account is expected.

“The following list has been received of the officers killed and wounded on this occasion:

STAFF.

Major General Braddock,	died of his wounds.
Robert Orme, Esq.,	wounded.
Roger Morris, Esq.,	killed.
William Shirley, Esq., Secretary,	wounded.
Sir John St. Clair, Deputy Quarter Master General,	“
Matthew Leslie, Gent., his Assistant,	“

LATE SIR PETER HALKET'S REGIMENT.

Sir P. Halket, Colonel,	killed.	Captain Tatton,	killed.
Lieut. Col. Gage,	wounded.	Captain Gethins,	“

SUBALTERNS.

Lieutenant Littleler,	wounded.	Lieutenant Lock,	wounded.
" Dunbar,	"	" Disney,	"
" Halkett,	killed.	" Kennedy,	"
" Treeby,	wounded.	" Townsend,	killed.
" Allen,	killed.	" Nartlow,	"
" Simpson,	wounded.	" Pennington,	wounded.

COLONEL DUNBAR'S REGIMENT.

Lieut. Col. Burton,	wounded.	Captain Rowyer,	wounded.
Major Sparkes,	"	Captain Ross,	"
Captain Cholmley,	"		

SUBALTERNS.

Barbut,	wounded.	Brereton,	killed.
Walsham,	"	Hart,	"
Crimble,	killed.	Montreseur,	wounded.
Wideman,	"	Macmullen,	"
Hanford,	"	Crow,	"
Gladwin,	wounded.	Sterling,	"
Edmeston,	"		

ARTILLERY.

Lieutenant Smith,	killed.	Lieutenant M'Cloud,	wounded.
" Buchanan,	wounded.	" M'Culler,	"

ENGINEERS.

Peter McKeller, Esq.,	wounded.	— Williamson, Esq.,	wounded.
Robert Gordon, Esq.,	"		

DETACHMENT OF SAILORS.

Lieutenant Spendelow,			killed.
Mr. Talbot, Midshipman,			"
Captain Stone, of General Lascelle's Regiment,			wounded.
" Floyer, of General Warburton's Regiment,			"

INDEPENDENT COMPANIES OF NEW YORK.

Captain Gates,	wounded.	Lieutenant Howarth,	wounded.
Lieutenant Sumain,	killed.	" Gray,	"

VIRGINIA TROOPS.

Captain Stevens,	wounded.	Captain Peronie,	killed.
" Poulson,	killed.		

SUBALTERNS.

Hamilton,	killed.	Stuart,	wounded.
Wright,	"	Wagoner,	killed.
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Several other accounts of this action, and lists of the dead and wounded have appeared in the papers, and are said to be taken from private letters. By the Gazette account, General Braddock seems to have been attacked by an ambuscade of French and Indians, on his march through the woods, before he came within sight of the enemy; by the other accounts, he seemed to have reached an advanced party of French, before the action began. They are to this effect:

"The French who were posted at Fort Duquesne, and on the Ohio, consisted of 1,500 regular, and 600 irregular troops, who had with them a considerable number of Indians in their interest. These forces, having gained very particular intelligence of General Braddock's design, of the number and condition of his forces, and the route they were to take, no sooner found that he was advancing, after having received his last supply of provisions, than they also advanced towards him, and having chosen a very advantageous piece of ground, about six miles south of their Fort, they formed a camp and intrenched themselves in a masterly manner, having a thick wood on each side of them, which extended along the route the General was to take. When he was come within three miles of their intrenchments, they drew out of their lines, placing their 600 irregulars in front, as a forlorn hope, and their 1,500 regulars behind to support them; they also stationed a great number of their Indians in the woods, on each side, who effectually concealed themselves behind trees and bushes.

"Soon after this fatal disposition was made, Gen. Braddock appeared with his troops in the following order:

Colonel Gage and Burton, of Halket's regiment.

The General, with Dunbar's Regiment.

The troops from Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina.

"As soon as the whole army was got between the ambuscades, the men were alarmed by the Indians, who fired singly at the General and other particular officers; upon this they pushed forward, as the enemy was in sight though not within musket-shot, and as soon as they came near enough, the attack was begun by the Colonels' Gage and Burton. This was a signal to the Indians in ambush, who immediately gave the war whoop, and rising from the thickets, discovered themselves on both sides, flanking our men in volleys, which did incredible execution. The advanced guard, being now between three fires, immediately gave away; but being rallied with much difficulty by the officers, they gave one fire, and then retreated in the utmost confusion, and Dunbar's regiment which was behind them in the same disorder. They were with unspeakable difficulty and trouble once more rallied by their officers, and stood one fire from the enemy, but then without returning it, both the regiments fled with the utmost terror and precipitation, deserting their officers, who, though alone,

kept their ground until, of sixty, only five remained that were not either killed or wounded. The Virginians who formed the rear still stood unbroken, and continued the engagement on very unequal terms near three hours, but were compelled to retire. These letters give the same account of the General as that in the Gazette, but add that all the baggage, provisions, and even military chests, had fallen into the enemy's hands. Other letters, however, contradict this particular, and say that the artillery, baggage and military chests are safe, being two days behind the army.

"There is indeed, some reason to hope that this is true, from the account published by authority, for it is there said that the General left the baggage, &c., behind him twenty miles, that he might march with the greater expedition; the very reason of his leaving them behind seems to prove, that he went forward without halting, and that it was impossible the men with the baggage should keep near him; so that, as they must have been considerably behind him when the action happened, it is probable the broken troops joined them in their retreat, and proceeded safely with the baggage to Will's Creek.

"The European troops, whose cowardice thus has injured the country, are the same that run away so shamefully at Preston-Pans. To prevent however, any unjust national reflections, it must be remarked, that though they are called Irish regiments, they are not regiments of Irishmen, but regiments on the Irish establishment, consisting of English, Irish and Scots, as other regiments do. It is, however, said that the slaughter among our officers was not made by the enemy, but that as they ran several fugitives through the body to intimidate the rest, when they were attempting in vain to rally them, some others, who expected the same fate, discharged their pieces at them, which, though loaded, they could not be brought to level at the French. On the other hand, it is alleged, that the defeat is owing more to presumption and want of conduct in the officers, than to cowardice in the private men; that a retreat ought to have been resolved upon the moment they found themselves surprised by an ambuscade; and that they were told by the men, when they refused to return to the charge, that if they could see their enemy they would fight them, but that they would not waste their ammunition against trees and bushes, nor stand exposed to invisible assailants, the French and Indian Rangers, who are excellent marksmen, and in such a situation would inevitably have destroyed any number of the best troops in the world."

Mr. Sparks in a note to the second volume of his edition of the *Life and Writings of Washington*, gives a very lucid account of this affair we here introduce:

"The defeat of General Braddock, on the banks of the Monongahela is one of the most remarkable events in American history. Great pre

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parations had been made for the expedition under that experienced officer, and there was the most sanguine anticipation, both in England and America, of its entire success. Such was the confidence in the prowess of Braddock's army, according to Dr. Franklin, that, while he was on his march to Fort Duquesne, a subscription paper was handed about in Philadelphia to raise money to celebrate his victory by bonfires and illuminations, as soon as the intelligence should arrive. When, therefore, the news of his total defeat and overthrow went abroad, the effect produced on the public mind was like the shock of an earthquake, unexpected and astounding. Of the possibility of such an issue no one had dreamed, and the expressions of surprise, as well as of disappointment, were loud and universal. The consequences were alarming to the middle colonies, as their frontiers were left exposed to the ravages of the French and Indians, in which situation they continued till Fort Duquesne was taken by Gen. Forbes, more than three years afterwards.

"General Braddock landed in Virginia on the 20th of February, 1755, with two regiments of the British army from Ireland, the forty-fourth and forty-eighth, each consisting of five hundred men, one of them commanded by Sir Peter Halket, and the other by Col. Dunbar. To these was joined a suitable train of artillery, with military supplies and provisions. The General's first head-quarters were at Alexandria, and the troops were stationed in that place and its vicinity, till they marched for Will's Creek, where they arrived about middle of May. It took four weeks to effect that march. In letters written at Will's Creek, Gen. Braddock with much severity of censure complained of the lukewarmness of the colonial governments, and tardiness of the people in facilitating his enterprise, the dishonesty of agents, and the faithlessness of contractors. The forces which he brought to Will's Creek, however, amounted to somewhat more than two thousand effective men, of whom about one thousand belonged to the royal regiments, and the remainder were furnished by the colonies. In this number were embraced the fragments of two Independent Companies from New York, one of which was commanded by Capt. Gates, afterwards a major-general in the Revolutionary war. Thirty sailors had also been granted for the expedition by Admiral Keppel who commanded the squadron that brought over the two regiments.

"At this post the army was detained three weeks, nor could it then have moved, had it not been for the energetic personal services of Franklin among the Pennsylvania farmers, in procuring horses and wagons to transport the artillery, provisions, and baggage. The details of the march are well described in Col. Washington's letters. The army was separated into two divisions. The advanced division, under Gen. Braddock, consisted of twelve hundred men, besides officers. The other, under Col. Dunbar, was left in the rear, to proceed by slower marches. On the

8th of July the General arrived with his division, all in excellent health and spirits, near the junction of the Youghiogeny and Monongahela rivers. At this place Col. Washington joined the advanced division, being but partially recovered from a severe attack of fever, which had been the cause of his remaining behind. The officers and soldiers were now in higher spirits, and firm in the conviction that they should, within a few hours, victoriously enter the walls of Fort Duquesne.

"The steep and rugged grounds on the north side of the Monongahela prevented the army from marching in that direction, and it was necessary, in approaching the fort, now about fifteen miles distant, to ford the river twice, and march a part of the way on the south side. Early on the morning of the 9th all things were in readiness, and the whole train passed through the river a little below the mouth of the Youghiogeny, and proceeded in perfect order along the southern margin of the Monongahela. Washington was often heard to say during his lifetime, that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld, was the beautiful display of the British troops on this eventful morning. Every man was beautifully dressed in full uniform; the soldiers were arranged in column, and marched in exact order; the sun gleamed from their burnished arms, the river flowed tranquilly on the right, and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on their left. Officers and men were equally inspirited with cheering hopes and confident expectations.

"In this manner they marched forward till about noon, when they arrived at the second crossing-place, ten miles from Fort Duquesne.— They halted but a little time, and then began to ford the river and regain its northern bank. As soon as they had crossed, they came upon a level plain, elevated but a few feet above the surface of the river, and extending northward nearly half a mile from its margin. Then commenced a gradual ascent at an angle of about three degrees, which terminated in hills of a considerable height, at no great distance beyond. The road from the fording-place to Fort Duquesne led across the plain and up this ascent, and thence proceeded through an uneven country, at that time covered with woods.

"By the order of march, a body of three hundred men under Colonel Gage, made the advanced party, which was immediately followed by another of two hundred. Next came the General with the columns of artillery, the main body of the army, and the baggage. At one o'clock the whole had crossed the river, and almost at this moment a sharp firing was heard upon the advanced parties, who were now ascending the hill, and had got forward about a hundred yards from the termination of the plain. A heavy discharge of musketry was poured in upon their front which was the first intelligence they had of the proximity of an enemy and this was suddenly followed by another on the right flank. They were filled with greater consternation, as no enemy was in sight, and the

firing seemed to proceed from an invisible foe. They fired in their turn however, but quite at random and obviously without effect, as the enemy kept up a discharge in quick and continued succession.

"The General advanced speedily to the relief of these detachments; but before he could reach the spot which they occupied, they gave way and fell back upon the artillery and the other columns of the army, causing extreme confusion and striking the whole mass with such a panic, that no order could afterwards be restored. The General and the officers behaved with the utmost courage, and used every effort to rally the men, and bring them to order, but all in vain. In this state they continued nearly three hours, huddling together in confused bodies, firing irregularly shooting down their own officers and men, and doing no perceptible harm to the enemy. The Virginia provincials were the only troops who seemed to retain their senses, and they behaved with a bravery and resolution worthy a better fate. They adopted the Indians mode, and fought each man for himself behind a tree. This was prohibited by the General, who endeavored to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been manœuvring on the plains of Flanders. Meantime the French and Indians concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a deadly and unceasing discharge of musketry, singling out their objects, taking deliberate aim, and producing a carnage almost unparalleled in the annals modern warfare. More than half of the whole army, which had crossed the river in so proud an array only three hours before, were killed or wounded; the General himself had received a mortal wound, and many of his best officers had fallen by his side.

"In describing the action a few days afterwards, Colonel Orme, wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania: 'The men were so extremely deaf to the exhortation of the General and the officers, that they fired away in the most irregular manner all their ammunition, and then ran off, leaving to the enemy the artillery, ammunition, provision, and baggage; nor could they be persuaded to stop till they got as far as Gist's plantation, nor there only in part, many of them proceeding as far as Col. Dunbar's party who lay six miles on this side. The officers were absolutely sacrificed by their good behavior, sometimes advancing in bodies, sometimes separately hoping by such example to engage the soldiers to follow them, but to no purpose. The General had five horses shot under him, and at last received a wound through his right arm into his lungs, of which he died on the 13th inst. Secretary Shirley was shot through the head; Capt. Morris, wounded. Col. Washington had two horses shot under him and his clothes shot through in several places behaving the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution. Sir Peter Halket was killed upon the spot. Col. Burton and Sir John St. Clair were wounded. In addition to these, the other field officers wounded were Lieutenant Colonel Gage (afterwards so well known as the com-

mander of the British forces in Boston, at the beginning of the Revolution,) Col. Orme, Maj. Sparks, and Brigade-Major Halket. Ten captains were killed, and five wounded; fifteen lieutenants killed, and twenty-two wounded; the whole number of officers in the engagement was eighty-six, of whom twenty-six were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates amounted to seven hundred and fourteen. Of these at least one half were supposed to be killed. Their bodies, left on the field of action, were stripped and scalped by the Indians. All the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and baggage, every thing in the train of the army, fell into the enemy's hands, and were given up to be pillaged by the savages. General Braddock's papers were also taken, among which were his instructions and correspondence with the ministry after his arrival in Virginia. The same fate befel the papers of Col. Washington, a private journal and his official correspondence during his campaign of the preceeding year.

"No circumstantial account of this affair has ever been published by the French, nor has it hitherto been known from any authentic source what numbers were engaged on their side. Washington conjectured, as stated in his letters, that there were no more than three hundred, and Dr. Franklin, in his account of the battle, considers them at most as not exceeding four hundred. The truth is, there was no accurate information on the subject, and writers have been obliged to rely on conjecture.

"In the archives of the War Department, at Paris, I found three separate narratives of this event written at the time, all brief and imperfect, but one of them apparently drawn up by a person on the spot. From these I have collected the following particulars.

"M. de Contreœur, the commandant of Fort Duquesne, received early intelligence of the arrival of General Braddock and the British regiments in Virginia. After his remove from Will's Creek, French and Indian scouts were constantly abroad, who watched his motions, reported the progress of his march, and the route he was pursuing. His army was represented to consist of three thousand men. M. de Contreœur was hesitating what measures to take, believing his small force wholly inadequate to encounter so formidable an army, when M. de Beaujeu, a captain in the French service, proposed to head a detachment of French and Indians, and meet the enemy in their march. The consent of the Indians was first to be obtained. A large body of them was then encamped in the vicinity of the fort, and M. de Beaujeu opened to them his plan, and requested their aid. This they at first declined, giving as a reason the superior force of the enemy, and the impossibility of success. But at the pressing solicitation of M. de Beaujeu, they agreed to hold a council on the subject, and to talk with him again the next morning. They still adhered to their first decision, and when M. de Beaujeu went out among them to inquire the result of their deliberation, they

the Revolution,) captains were twenty-two wounded, six of whom were killed and fourteen. Of the bodies, left on the banks. All the Indians in the train of the army were pillaged by the savages, among which was the body of the late General Washington, as a campaign of

published by an authentic source conjectured, as being about a hundred, and that at most as not accurate information on conjecture. About three separate and imperfect, the spot. From

, received early in the British regiments and Indian scouts, reported the loss of his army was not unexpected. The force was wholly in the hands of Beaujeu, a captain of French and Indian descent of the Indians was then engaged to them, giving as the possibility of success they agreed to the next morning. M. de Beaujeu, after his liberation, they

told him a second time that they could not go. This was a severe disappointment to M. de Beaujeu, who had set his heart upon the enterprise, and was resolved to prosecute it. Being a man of great good nature, affability, and ardor, and much beloved by the savages, he said to them: 'I am determined to go out and meet the enemy. What! will you suffer your father to go out alone? I am sure we shall conquer.' With this spirited harangue, delivered in a manner that pleased the Indians, and won upon their confidence, he subdued their unwillingness, and they agreed to accompany him.

"It was now the 7th of July, and news came that the English were within six leagues of the fort. This day and the next were spent in making preparations, and reconnoitring the ground for attack. Two other Captains, Dumas and Lignery, were joined with M. de Beaujeu, and also four lieutenants, six ensigns, and two cadets. On the morning of the 9th they were all in readiness, and began their march at an early hour. It seems to have been their first intention to make a stand at the ford, and annoy the English while crossing the river, and then retreat to the ambuscade on the side of the hill where the contest actually commenced. The trees on the bank of the river afforded a good opportunity to affect this manœuvre, in the Indian mode of warfare, since the artillery could be of little avail against an enemy, where every man was protected by a tree, and at the same time the English would be exposed to a point-blank musket-shot in fording the river. As it happened, however, M. de Beaujeu and his party did not arrive in time to execute this part of the plan.

The English were preparing to cross the river, when the French and Indians reached the defiles on the rising ground, where they posted themselves, and waited till Braddock's advanced columns came up. This was a signal for the attack, which was made at first in front, and repelled by so heavy a discharge from the British, that the Indians believed it proceeded from artillery, and showed symptoms of wavering and retreat. At this moment M. de Beaujeu was killed, and the command devolving on M. Dumas, he showed great presence of mind in rallying the Indians, and ordered his officers to lead them to the wings and attack the enemy in flank, while he with the French troops would maintain the attack in front. The order was promptly obeyed, and the attack became general. The action was warm and severely contested for a short time; but the English fought in the European method, firing at random, which had little effect in the woods, while the Indians fired from concealed places, took aim, and almost every shot brought down a man. The English columns soon got into confusion; the yell of the savages, with which the woods resounded, struck terror into the hearts of the soldiers, till at length they took to flight, and resisted all the endeavors of their officers to restore any degree of order in their escape.

The rout was complete, and the field of battle was left covered with the dead and wounded, and all the artillery, ammunition, provisions and baggage of the English army. The Indians gave themselves up to pillage, which prevented them from pursuing the English in their flight.

"Such is the substance of the accounts written at the time by the French officers, and sent home to their government. In regard to the numbers engaged, there are some slight variations in the three statements. The largest number reported is two hundred and fifty French and Canadians, and six hundred and forty-one Indians; and the smallest, two hundred and thirty-three French and Canadians, and six hundred Indians. If we take a medium, it will make the whole number led out by M. de Beaujeu at least eight hundred and fifty. In an imperfect return, three officers were stated to be killed, and four wounded; about thirty soldiers and Indians killed, and as many wounded.

"When these facts are taken into view, the result of the action will appear much less wonderful than has generally been supposed. And this wonder will be still diminished when another circumstance is recurring to, worthy of particular consideration, and that is, the shape of the ground on which the battle was fought. This part of the description, so essential to the understanding of military operations, and above all in the present instance, has never been touched upon, it is believed, by any writer. We have seen that Braddock's advanced columns, after crossing the valley extending for nearly half a mile from the margin of the river, began to move up a hill, so uniform in its ascent, that it was little else than an inclined plane of a somewhat crowning form. Down this inclined surface extended two ravines, beginning near together, at about one hundred and fifty yards from the bottom of the hill, and proceeding in different directions till they terminated in the valley below. In these ravines the French and Indians were concealed and protected. At this day they are from eight to ten feet deep, and sufficient to contain at least a thousand men. At the time of the battle the ground was covered with trees and long grass, so that the ravines were entirely hidden from view till they approached within a few feet. Indeed, at the present day, although the place is cleared from trees, and converted into pasture, they are perceptible only at a very short distance. By this knowledge of local peculiarities of the battle ground, the mystery, that the British conceived themselves to be contending with an invisible foe, is solved. Such was literally the fact. They were so paraded between the ravines that their whole front and flank were exposed to the incessant fire of the enemy, who discharged their muskets over the edge of the ravines concealed during that operation by the grass and bushes, and protected by an invincible barrier below the surface of the earth. William Butler, a veteran soldier still living (1832), who was in this action, and afterwards at the Plains of

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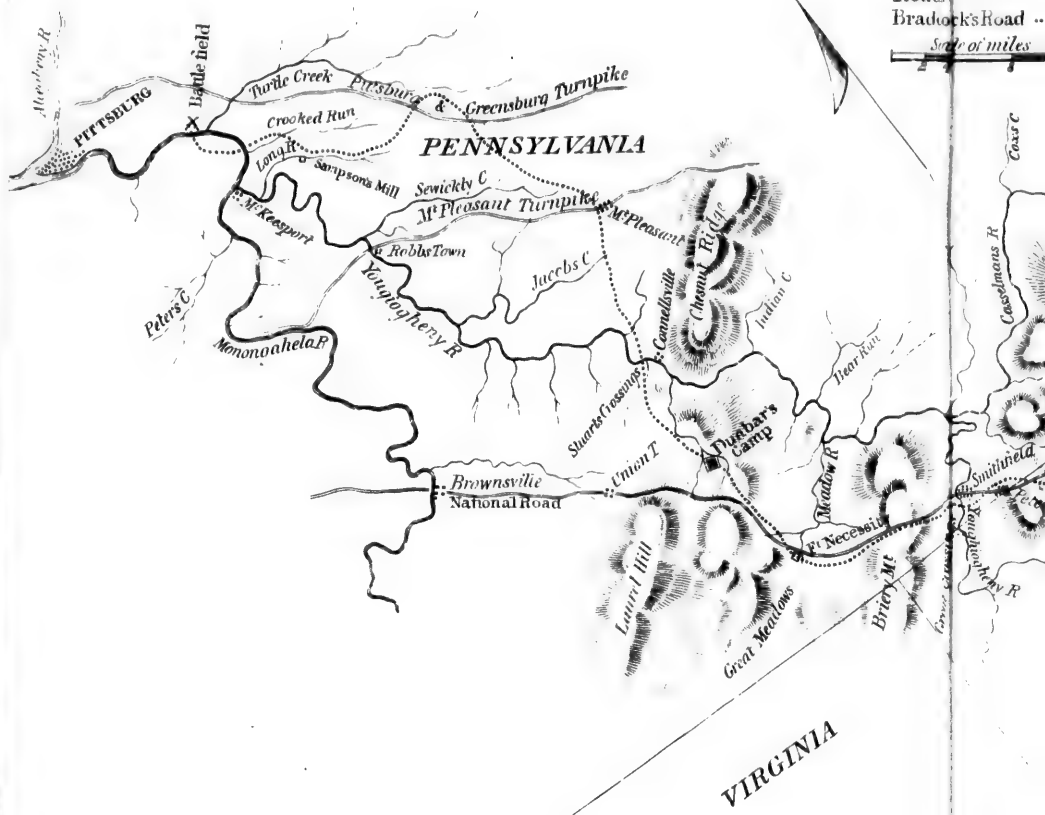
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Abraham, said to me : ' We could only tell where the enemies were by the smoke of their muskets.' A few scattering Indians were behind trees, and some were killed in venturing out to take scalps, but much the larger portion fought wholly in the ravines.

"It is not probable that either General Braddock or any one of his officers suspected the actual situation of the enemy, during the whole bloody contest. It was a fault in the General, for which no apology can be offered, that he did not keep scouts and guards in advance, and on the wings of his army, who would have made all proper discoveries, before the whole had been brought into a snare. This neglect was the primary cause of his defeat which might have been avoided. Had he charged with the bayonet, the ravines would have been cleared instantly ; or had he brought his artillery to the points where the ravines terminated in the valley, and scoured them with grape-shot, the same consequence would have followed. But the total insubordinations of his troops would have prevented both these movements, even if he had become acquainted with the ground, in the early part of the action. The disasters of this day, and the fate of the commander, brave and resolute as he undoubtedly was, are to be ascribed to his contempt of Indian warfare ; his overweening confidence in the prowess of veteran troops ; his obstinate self-complacency ; his disregard of prudent counsel ; and his negligence in leaving his army exposed to a surprise on the march. He freely consulted Col. Washington, whose experience and judgment, notwithstanding his youth, claimed the highest respect for his opinions ; but the General gave little heed to his advice.

While on his march, George Croghan, the Indian interpreter, joined him with one hundred friendly Indians, who offered their services.— These were accepted in so cold a manner, and the Indians themselves treated with so much neglect that they deserted him one after another. Washington pressed upon him the importance of these men, and the necessity of conciliating and retaining them, but without effect.

"A report has long been current in Pennsylvania, that Braddock was shot by one of his own men, founded on the declaration of a provincial soldier, who was in the action. There is another tradition, also worthy of notice, which rests on the authority of Dr. Craik, the intimate friend of Washington from his boyhood to his death, and who was with him at the battle of the Monongahela. Fifteen years after that event, they travelled together on an expedition to the western country, with a party of woodsmen, for the purpose of exploring wild lands. While near the junction of the Great Kenhawa and Ohio Rivers, a company of Indians came to them with an interpreter, at the head of whom was an aged venerable chief. This personage made known to them by the interpreter, that, hearing Colonel Washington was in that region, he had come a long

way to visit him, adding that during the battle of Monongahela, he had singled him out as a conspicuous object; fired his rifle at him many times, and directed his young warriors to do the same, but to his utter astonishment none of their balls took effect. He was then persuaded that the youthful hero was under the special guardianship of the Great Spirit, and ceased to fire at him any longer. He was now come to pay homage to the man who was the particular favorite of heaven, and who could never die in battle. Mr. Custis of Arlington, to whom these incidents were related by Dr. Craik, has dramatized them in a piece called *The Indian Prophecy*.

When the battle was over, and the remnant of Braddock's army had gained, in their flight, the opposite bank of the river, Col. Washington was despatched by the General to meet Col. Dunbar, and order forward wagons for the wounded, with all possible speed. But it was not till the 11th, after they had reached Gist's plantation, with great difficulty and much suffering from hunger, that any arrived. The General was at first brought off in a tumbril; he was next put on horseback, but, being unable to ride, was obliged to be carried by the soldiers. They all reached Dunbar's camp, to which the panic had already extended, and a day was passed in the greatest confusion. The artillery was destroyed, and the public stores and heavy baggage were burnt, by whose order was never known. They moved forward on the 13th, and that night Gen. Braddock died, and was buried in the road, for the purpose of concealing his body from the Indians. The spot is pointed out; within a few yards of the present National Road, and about a mile west of the site of Fort Necessity at the Great Meadows. Captain Stewart, of the Virginia forces, had particular charge of him from the time he was wounded until his death. On the 17th the sick and wounded arrived at Fort Cumberland, and were soon after joined by Colonel Dunbar with the remaining fragments of the army. The French sent out a party as far as Dunbar's camp, and destroyed every thing that was left. Colonel Washington being in very feeble health, proceeded in a few days to Mount Vernon.

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